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Creating Citizens, Building Societies? Adult Education in the Eastern Arctic as if Community Mattered

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ABSTRACT
Adult education, broadly defined, was introduced as part of a larger project of state-led intervention in northern Canada, which altered dramatically the social, cultural, and economic circumstances of the Indigenous peoples who called the region home. Through various adult education initiatives—both formal and informal—Inuit adults began to interact with new ideas and new institutions in the growing settlements across the North. Predicated on the link between adult education and social transformation, and the concepts of "liberal" and "liberating" adult education, this paper traces the evolution of adult education policy and programming in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut between the mid-1960s and the mid-1990s. It is guided by the following questions: (1) To what extent has adult education empowered or disempowered communities with respect to social, political, and economic development over time; (2) despite its colonial origins, to what extent has adult education promoted citizen engagement and participation; and (3) do the changes in adult education over time reflect broader trends towards a neo-liberal approach to northern development, and what might this mean for democratic development in communities in the future?

RÉSUMÉ
L'éducation aux adultes, au sens large, a été introduite comme faisant partie d'un vaste projet d'une intervention gouvernementale dans le nord du Canada qui a modifié dramatiquement les contextes sociaux, culturels et économiques des peuples aborigènes de cette région considérée comme leur patrie. Grâce à des initiatives variées en éducation des adultes—à la fois formelles et informelles—les Inuits ont commencé à interagir avec des idées nouvelles et de nouvelles institutions inhérentes à l'expansion territoriale du Nord. En se basant sur le lien entre éducation des adultes et transformation sociale et les concepts d'une éducation aux adultes « libérale » et « libératrice », cet article retrace l'évolution de la politique de l'éducation aux adultes et des programmes dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest et du Nunavut entre le milieu des années 1960 et le milieu des années 1990. Cette recherche répond à trois questions. 1) Jusqu'à quel point l'éducation aux adultes donna ou enleva du pouvoir aux communautés à l'égard du développement social, politique et économique durant cette période. 2) En dépit de ses origines coloniales, comment l'éducation aux adultes a-t-elle fait la promotion de l'engagement citoyen et de la participation communautaire? 3) Au fil du temps, les changements apportés à l'éducation aux adultes reflètent-ils des tendances plus largement orientées vers une approche néolibérale du développement nordique, et qu'est-ce que cela implique pour le développement démocratique de ces communautés à l'avenir?

Introduction

In Canada the provision of adult education by governments and civil society organizations has its roots in nation building and the fostering of citizenship and democracy.[1] Similarly, governments and non-governmental organizations have seen adult education as a way to assist citizens and communities during periods of significant social, economic, and political transformation.[2] Inuit communities in northern Canada have been in an almost constant state of change over the last sixty years. Adult education was introduced in northern Canada by the federal government as an instrument of state-imposed social change, which began in earnest after World War II. At the heart of the post-war state-led intervention in the North was the policy of sedentarization, which drew Indigenous families off the land into permanent settlements for the purpose of providing housing, schooling and health care.[3] The communities we know today were only formed in the post-war period, as a direct result of government intervention. Yet, as White argues, "in fundamental ways northern society is defined and politics are played out within the context of communities. It is impossible to underestimate their importance, both in intangible, psychic ways, and in day-to-day social and political activities."[4]

Despite its colonial origins, adult education has served as a tool for local empowerment and community and citizen engagement in the Inuit communities of the Eastern Arctic (now Nunavut). Through various formal and informal education initiatives, adults began to interact with and work through new ideas and new institutions, and very quickly they started to take on these institutions for their own purposes. Indeed, adult education was instrumental in creating the conditions under which many local institutions and opportunities for local self-determination were established. As adult education became more institutionalized during the formative years of the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) — after 1967 — the focus shifted away from democratic community development.[5]

Methodology

This article is derived from a larger doctoral research project examining the historical and ongoing relationship between public education and community development in the Eastern Arctic. I reviewed archival materials related to adult education and community development in the Northwest Territories (NWT) and Nunavut,[6] and completed fifteen semi-structured interviews with former adult educators and civil servants. Here, I trace the evolution of adult education through three periods of transition between the mid-1960s and the mid-1990s. The first transition came in 1966 with the introduction of the federally-funded Home Management Education Program. The second took place following the full transfer of responsibility for education in the Eastern Arctic from the federal government to the GNWT in April 1970. The third transition emerged in the years immediately following the 1982 final report of the NWT Special Committee on Education (SCOE), *Learning: Tradition and Change* (LTC), which led to the creation of Arctic College. Each of these transitions

carried with it philosophical and institutional changes with important implications for communities and the purposes and processes of community development.

The history of adult education offers a valuable lens through which to understand how federal and territorial governments viewed community development and how this changed over time; how agents of the state interpreted these policies and programs; and, what the implications of these changes have been for communities. To pursue such questions it was important to interview educators and civil servants. Of the fifteen participants, four were Inuit and eleven were non-Inuit.[7] Although the number of Inuit working as adult educators and administrators increased considerably between the 1960s and the 1980s, the majority of state agents, especially in the earlier years, were non-Inuit. The interviews I conducted for this article reflect these demographic circumstances.

There is much more work to be done in this area of educational history; to my knowledge, there is only one other piece of scholarly writing that offers a detailed history of adult education in the Northwest Territories.[8] Studies of community reception to specific adult education programs, or relationships between adult educators and people living in the communities, would be valuable. My doctoral research will go some way towards understanding these questions[9] but there is an urgent need for more research in this area, particularly by Inuit, and especially while the people who lived through the period of early settlement are still alive.

The geographic focus of this paper was selected for practical reasons. Although the Northwest Territories was one political territory until division in 1999, its vast size as well as its linguistic and cultural diversity has meant that regional divisions have always been a feature of northern governance. Add to this the great physical distances between communities, and the specific historical circumstances and experiences of each of those communities, and it becomes difficult to speak of a singular strand of development. The federal government treated the western and eastern parts of the Northwest Territories differently from very early on, and this continued as the territorial government evolved. Therefore, it was important to focus the research on one region, understand its historical context, and in turn document the evolution of adult education and the development of communities there.

Adult Education and Community Development

Adult education is the term used by theorists and practitioners alike to describe a wide range of formal and informal activities that aim to develop life, technical, and vocational skills, as well as to provide learners with cultural and political education for the purposes of actively participating in society.[10] There is an important link between adult education and community development, predicated on the ability of education to help adults reflect on and respond to social, economic, and political changes. When faced with profound societal changes, some scholars suggest, people and institutions can be either "*in* the process of transition" or "*of* the process of transition."[11] Adult education is a tool that can be used to reinforce existing power structures or it can be used to support and facilitate community empowerment, citizen engagement, and self-determination.

There are many different models of adult education, rooted in particular values, objectives, and pedagogical principles, which align with different overall approaches to economic and social development. At the risk of oversimplification, these models can be understood to fall along a spectrum with the so-called "liberal" model at one end, and the "liberating" model at the other.[12] On one end, the liberal model conceives of students as free individuals and "focuses on cognitive development, predetermined skills instruction, a deficit model perspective, learners needing to learn how to learn, and the acquisition of facts and principles."[13] In the case of the Eastern Arctic, this approach to adult education coincided with northern development described as a "guided democracy process,"[14] in which the role of state agents (including adult educators) was to

> approach the community with a set of goals pre-determined (not self-determined) by a government not constitutionally formed by nor agreed to by the (native) "client community." The aim is not to "enable" the community to achieve equal political awareness…it is rather to "guide", "train" or "educate" the native community to carry out functions which have already been determined as "Canadian"…[15]

On the other end of the spectrum, the "liberating model" is based largely on Freirean theory, which emphasizes the political nature of education and the role of education as a "weapon to fight for a more just, egalitarian society."[16] Adult learners are conceived of as both "active agents in constructing the world" and "creators of culture and history."[17] The role of adult educators is to act as facilitators and consciousness-raisers, and as allies with their students. In the North, this model corresponded to a mode of northern development that has been described as a "self-determining democracy process" in which educators (and other development workers) approached "a community on the basis that the community will 'determine' what purposes the community will serve, what institutions will be set up to pursue those purposes, and who will be elected or appointed to lead or manage the institutions."[18] In a "self-determining process," adult education contributes to raising political awareness for the purposes of achieving political equality.[19]

Beginning in the 1960s in the Eastern Arctic, it is possible to identify general trends in the evolution of adult education starting with a more liberal model of adult education, which was informed by a "guided democracy process" approach to northern development. Throughout the next decade, adult education policy and programming, as well as the adult educators and communities themselves, tended towards the "liberating" end of the spectrum, embodying the "self-determining democracy process" model of development. Following the 1982 NWT Legislative Assembly Special Committee on Education there were important steps taken towards developing a "made-in-the North" education system. These steps coincided with processes of depoliticizing adult education, through which community and socially focused education was replaced primarily with adult learning for the labour market.[20] This represented a shift back towards the "liberal" end of the spectrum, corresponding with

a neo-liberal approach to northern development. References to democracy, social citizenship, and the political nature of education virtually disappeared. Paradoxically, at the same time as Inuit were gaining political and constitutional victories at the territorial and national levels, community adult education — which had been so important for community development and Inuit self-determination — became increasingly depoliticized, and narrowly centred on academic and vocational training for the labour market.

The Origins of Adult Education in the Eastern Arctic

Until 1969-70, the federal government held responsibility for Inuit education in the Eastern Arctic. Together with the churches, the state developed an education system aimed at assimilating Indigenous people into Canadian society.[21] From 1949 to 1959, adult education was administered as part of the overall school system, which was rapidly developing across the NWT through the building of federal day schools. Most of the government's attention was on children's education and the challenges of operating small schools in new settlements. Any activities or programs offered to adults were on a volunteer and ad hoc basis by government staff or their spouses, using resources already available in communities. There were no dedicated state-funded adult educators working in the North until the mid-1960s.[22]

In 1960, the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) established an Adult Education Section; however, with just one staff person between 1960 and 1963 and two between 1963 and 1966, its capacity was limited.[23] During this time, the "welfare teachers" as they were then called,[24] and other non-Indigenous residents such as the wives of RCMP officers, taught English in night classes when requested. Some secondary and adult students were sent south to further their studies in Ottawa or at the Churchill Vocational Centre after it opened in 1964, while others went west (to Fort Smith or Yellowknife) or south to pursue vocational training.[25]

As noted above, in the years between the mid-1960s and the mid-1990s, adult education underwent three significant transitions involving both administrative and philosophical components. In this article, I will examine these transitions, guided by the following questions: (1) To what extent has adult education empowered or disempowered communities with respect to social, political, and economic development over time; (2) despite its colonial origins, to what extent has adult education promoted citizen engagement and participation; and (3) do the changes in adult education over time reflect broader trends towards a neo-liberal approach to northern development, and what might this mean for democratic development in communities going forward?

Adult Education and "Guided Democracy"

The first transition saw a gradual shift from the part-time, ad-hoc approach of the late 1940s to early 1960s, to a more deliberate and structured set of programs, beginning with the "flagship" Home Management Education Program in 1966.[26]

Al Simpson, then Superintendent of Education for the Arctic Region, envisioned "Home Management" after learning that the Canada Mortgage Housing Corporation (CMHC) was planning to introduce pre-fabricated rental housing for Inuit to the emerging settlements across the Northwest Territories. He felt that it was unrealistic to expect people to move into new forms of housing without any introductory instruction or training, and so requested that funds be made available to develop courses to help with this transition. The CMHC agreed to allocate dedicated funding to develop such a program.[27] Simpson began hiring southern educators to work on short six-month contracts, to roll out a multi-phase home management program. In the first phase, courses were offered to the men of a given community on money management and rent, how to establish and run housing associations, and how government worked. Next, home economists (mainly women) were sent to the community to teach the women about appliance safety and operation, cleaning, cooking, and meal planning. In the third phase of the program, the assigned educator was tasked with helping the community to establish a housing association.

The federal government's approach during the period leading up to and including the home management education program was driven by its over-arching welfare-state policies and its belief that the state knew what was best for the Indigenous peoples of northern Canada. The project of bringing people in off the land to live in permanent settlements represented a significant shift from the government's "policy of dispersal" that characterized the pre-war years.[28] Home Management came at a time when the federal government was not only developing the Canadian welfare state but was also actively supporting social development and citizen engagement across the country for the purposes of fostering a healthy democracy.[29] In order to achieve these goals in the North, the government believed it had a responsibility to teach Indigenous people how to be democratic Canadian citizens, capable of taking full advantage of their rights and responsibilities as such. Inuit were considered to be a "people under tutelage" in need of direction, guidance, and "re-socialization."[30]

The "guided democracy" philosophy of adult education during this period was clearly articulated in the 1966 final report of the Carrothers Commission, established to advise on the nature of the evolution of the GNWT.[31] Carrothers "conceptualized local government structures as transformative bodies that would educate Inuit in democratic principles and processes."[32] In the Commission's final report, he notes:

> In terms of education, too, local government…has an important role to play in the north at this time…Experience in public affairs at the local level provides a means to a greater interest in broader public issues and offices at the territorial and federal levels.[33]

Carrothers' development vision was that northern settlements would be modelled after their southern counterparts, evolving along a spectrum from unorganized and completely dependent settlements, to hamlets, to fully autonomous towns. The purpose of adult education, then, was to make sure that Inuit adults developed the skills and knowledge they needed to adapt to these new structures and institutions through

classroom-based and experiential learning. The housing associations conceived by the Home Management program — along with local settlement councils, which were also established during this period — were in effect "practice governments" for Inuit, designed to introduce liberal democratic ideas and institutions in emerging settlements.[34]

By January 1968, all the communities in the Eastern Arctic except for Repulse Bay and Coral Harbour had completed the home management education program. The first two Inuit home management educators were Tagak Curley and Peter Irniq, both of whom went on to become prominent leaders in the Inuit self-determination movement.[35] Curley and Irniq were hired to complete the home management education program. Although the official program was winding down, the Department hired a full-time home economist consultant for the region to continue co-ordinating courses, as needed or desired. The importance of further developing the adult education program was tied to the perceived success of the home management education project. Regional directors of adult education thus began the process of building up an administrative structure for a more comprehensive program that would meet various needs of Indigenous individuals and communities, as the government understood them at the time.[36]

Although the seat of government of the Northwest Territories officially moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife in 1967, the complete transfer of responsibilities from the federal to the territorial government was gradual. The Arctic District (Keewatin and Baffin regions) was the last region to make the full transition on 1 April 1970, one year after the Mackenzie District in the west. This extra year of federal oversight and responsibility in the East saw the expansion of adult and vocational educational activities, including the creation of an adult education centre in the recently closed residential school at Chesterfield Inlet,[37] and the introduction of full-time adult educators to replace the shorter-term contracts used under the housing education program. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) also contracted Frontier College that year to conduct adult literacy classes (basic English and math) in Apex, the adjoining community to Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit, Nunavut).[38]

Until the early 1960s, the conventional model for Frontier College was the labourer-teacher model, in which (typically) young educated men would be dispatched to remote logging, mining, construction, and railway camps across the country to labour during the day and teach basic literacy in the evenings to their co-workers, many of whom were immigrants.[39] In 1963, however, Frontier College piloted a new approach to adult education in Elliott Lake, Ontario, and hired its first full-time "community adult educator" to work there with under-employed and unemployed adults.[40] Under this new model, adult education was designed as a "pre-requisite to occupational training and more secure employment, and at the same time, [was intended to] facilitate self-awareness and confidence among participants, and by extension promote community self-help and reliance through co-operation with existing community-based organizations."[41]

The federal government saw Frontier College as promoting an "educational

approach to community development…helping local groups to gain greater influence over their situation through information on government services."[42] It also saw Frontier College as a way to extend the out-reach of programs by the Department of Manpower and Immigration.[43] In the absence of a fully formed system of adult education, Frontier College offered relatively inexpensive, reputable educators who could be sent to communities without much supervision.[44] Frontier College would go on to play an important role in the evolution of adult education in the 1970s in the Eastern Arctic.

Community Adult Education and "Self-Determining Democracy"

The second transition in adult education came following the full transfer of responsibility for education in the Eastern Arctic from the federal government to the GNWT. On 1 April 1970, all federal government employees and their families either left the NWT, or were subsumed into the fledgling territorial government, now based in Yellowknife. This included many of those working in Adult Education. The newly minted GNWT Department of Education created a Continuing and Special Education division (CASE), which housed both adult and vocational education, bringing them together for the first time.[45] In these early days, despite having official responsibility for adult and vocational education, the GNWT lacked resources to carry out a full-fledged adult education program entirely on its own. The federal government continued to provide funding for certain basic and vocational skills programs, such as the Basic Training for Skill Development, Basic Job Readiness Training, and Industrial Training Skills Development. The Department of Education also decided to contract a third party to provide adult education services in some communities, and to help develop an adult education program for the NWT.

At this time Frontier College was developing its own model of "community adult education," which involved sending full-time adult educators into communities that were experiencing periods of social or economic transformation. While only a handful of communities were staffed directly through the Frontier College contract, many of the adult educators who came North during this period were former Frontier College employees or had previous community development experience in Canada or abroad. This new generation of adult educators was influenced not only by their previous professional experience but also by the political and social movements taking place across the country. With an increasing number of Inuit colleagues, these educators carried out their work according to the principles of community adult education and, in particular, with an awareness of the potential it held for contributing to, and supporting, Inuit self-determination and community-centred development.[46]

By 1974, the GNWT had approved permanent adult educator positions in 26 of the 60 communities across the Northwest Territories, "thereby [giving] official status to this discipline as an integral part of the community offerings of the Territorial Department of Education and as basic human rights for adults in the NWT."[47] In the previous period, the educational and development needs of the communities had been identified by the government, and adult educators were hired to carry out

programs designed by the state. CASE now identified "developing programs to meet needs as expressed by the citizens of a community" as the first objective of adult education.[48] The role of adult educators was to "help communities identify their own needs" and to "act as sources of information on any matter of concern."[49] Other objectives of adult education identified by CASE included expanding the number of staff positions, increasing professional development opportunities for educators, improving channels of communication between communities and government, expanding the reach of adult education facilities and resources in communities, adequately funding programs with accountability brought closer to the people, and establishing local advisory boards to enhance local control over education.[50]

In the communities, adult educators served as resources for individual learners as well as for community organizations as they began both to adopt and confront the institutions that had been introduced by government just a few years before. Although they were technically agents of the state, this generation of adult educators saw themselves as "facilitators."[51] Many chose to actively participate in the daily activities of community life, working closely with community members in an advisory capacity. In a monthly report to the Department of Education, Mike and Ellie Denker — the Frontier College adult educators working in Igloolik in 1972 — explained:

> We like the model of animator in Igloolik, to be a resource, to stimulate thought and imagination by the introduction of new ideas and processes, and to encourage the communication of factual information: our role is not one that can be hung up at night like a parka.[52]

It was not uncommon at this time for adult educators, upon arriving in a community, to meet with local leaders and organizations to learn about the community and to discuss possibilities for collaboration and learning priorities. This represented a significant departure from the pre-determined programs of the previous decade.[53] Adult educators often saw themselves as being accountable to the community, first and foremost.[54] The geographic and communications realities of this period also meant that communities were isolated from Department of Education's regional offices, from the GNWT headquarters in Yellowknife, and from the south. As such, communities and educators enjoyed the flexibility and independence to carry out their own projects with minimal oversight from regional supervisors.

A wide range of activities fell under the banner of adult education during this period, including but extending beyond academic courses like basic upgrading and English literacy. In some communities, for example, the adult education centre offered nutrition classes, workshops on long-distance phone calls, and income tax and budgeting. Courses were provided on legal and civic matters, especially around election times. In Arctic Bay, Inuktitut language training was offered for teachers. Elsewhere — for example in Cape Dorset and Clyde River — jewellery, film, and industrial arts courses were offered.[55] Adult educators advised the fledgling local education committees, created under the 1977 Education Ordinance; they also advised the newly developed Hamlet offices, as well as the local co-operatives, when asked.[56]

These institutions — the local education committees, hamlet governments, and co-operatives — have retained particular importance as sites of local control and public participation in Nunavut communities.[57]

Community adult education centres, which would later become Community Learning Centres in the Arctic College network, were established following the recommendation of the GNWT 1972 *Survey of Education*.[58] The early adult education centres were important community institutions that served as drop-in centres, classrooms, workshops, and meeting spaces; they also housed and operated local public libraries. With the support of adult educators, radio societies and community newspapers were also established during this period, along with numerous local societies and associations, including ones for housing, education, recreation, Elders, and youth. In the case of Igloolik, this included an outpost camp society. The local institutions that were established during this period, with the support of adult educators, engaged community members and generated momentum and opportunities for local leadership, innovation, and entrepreneurship. This generation of adult educators, both Inuit and non-Inuit, tended to align themselves with the movement toward Inuit self-determination, and worked to support this at the community level by creating space for grass roots rather than top-down development. The radio societies and Inuktitut-language community newspapers created public space for citizens and local organizations to share information and ideas, express concerns, tell stories, and trade goods and services. These public spaces became important tools for political development and Inuit self-determination in Nunavut.[59]

For all intents and purposes, during this period the Department of Education's goals for adult education aligned with those of the community adult educators they hired, and generally speaking the department took a relatively hands-off approach, allowing communities, community leaders, and adult educators to work together. The departmental philosophy of local control over education gained momentum, giving communities and community adult educators considerable power over the substance and direction of adult education and community development initiatives during what was a critical period in the political and social history of the Northwest Territories. It was during these years that communities, educators, and governments realized what was possible with adult education in terms of its ability to contribute to local development, as well as to larger-scale political development.[60]

Towards the end of the decade, however, important changes were beginning to take place at the political and administrative levels. By this time, the Indigenous rights movement had spread across Canada and the North, gaining significant traction and attention. The end of the 1970s saw the culmination of a decade of political activity by Inuit, including a call by the national Inuit association, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, for an Inuit territory, called Nunavut.[61] Inuit demanded greater voice in decision-making at the territorial level and greater control over their own affairs in the eastern regions of the NWT. At the same time, the GNWT Department of Education was beginning to move toward a more institutionalized and streamlined adult education program. In some places, like Igloolik, Frontier College contracts were still in place in 1977. The GNWT wanted to replace the adult educator (then Hugh Lloyd) with

a government employee as part of this streamlining process. In a reflective piece on his time working for Frontier College in Igloolik, Lloyd recalls a meeting between the Igloolik education committee and the GNWT official dispatched to the community to share the news that the Frontier College contract would be terminated:

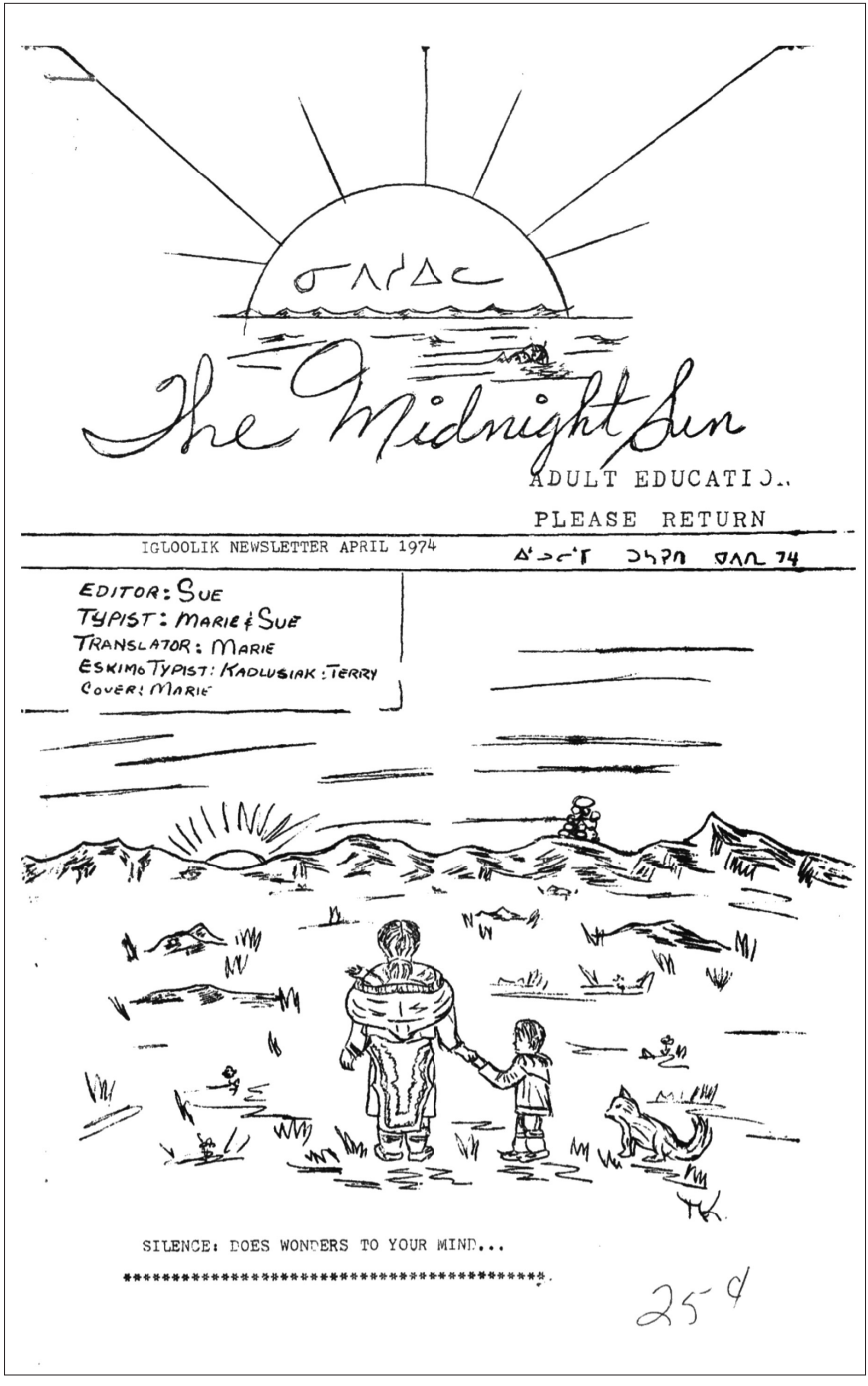
> Rob Henderson [then Assistant Superintendent of Education in the Department of Education's Regional Education Office (Frobisher Bay)] made the case that Frontier College should no longer be providing Adult Education services in Igloolik, and should be replaced by an employee of the GNWT Department of Education. In response, he got about two hours of non-stop arguments from the members present outlining all the good things that Frontier College had done over many years (none of it by me) and the significant community institutions they had helped to set up: outpost camp committee, local radio station, library system, Tamata (youth) club, in addition to all the basic upgrading class work with adults in the community.[62]

Igloolik was recognized as a leader with respect to adult education (and formal schooling as well) during this period because community members there developed a clear vision for what they wanted to get out of adult education, and how they wanted to use the resources adult education offered to develop the community.[63] Igloolik also had a string of adult educators through the 1970s and early 1980s who took their roles as "animators" rather than "experts" seriously. Because people in Igloolik connected with the Frontier College educators, the transition from Frontier College to Department of Education held considerable risk:

> They had a strong sense of their own Iglulingmiut [people of Iglulik] society moving off the land into the community and despite all the problems, they were still in charge and they had a tremendous sense of initiative and a sense of power. Part of the fight with losing Frontier College was losing decision-making power over adult education programs, which was correct.[64]

In the end, the Frontier College contract was terminated, and Lloyd became an employee of the GNWT Department of Education, continuing his work in Igloolik until 1986.

It was during the final years of the 1970s that the seeds of the third major transition were planted. The Department of Education had begun to develop its own bureaucracy around the provision of adult education. This included increased resources and oversight over adult education programs, regular community visits by regional supervisors, an annual conference of adult educators, and a vision for a more cohesive and institutionalized system of adult education. At the same time, adult educators in the Baffin region began to organize themselves, creating the Baffin Adult Educators' Society so that they could have an independent voice outside of their positions as employees of the GNWT Department of Education, to advocate for their vision for community adult education.[65]



Community newspapers like Igloolik's The Midnight Sun were supported by adult education centres in the 1970s.

The Institutionalization of Adult Education

In 1980, then-MLA for Keewatin South and former adult educator, Tagak Curley, called for a special inquiry into all aspects of the education system in the Northwest Territories, including adult and post-secondary education. The Northwest Territories Special Committee on Education was struck, and over the next two years its five members travelled extensively, holding public hearings with community members, organizations, and educators across the NWT. During these public hearings, community members and educators raised concerns about a lack of resources for adult education, and the need for more community-based programming.[66] Participants in the hearings also recognized the important role that adult education had played in communities up to that time. For example, during their visit to Pond Inlet, the Committee heard that

> especially in small communities, Adult Education plays a major role. Adult Education has taught us how to organize committees and run meetings. In the past, they have taught such courses as skin sewing to younger people. To us, Adult Education helps us to grow as a community—we don't want to see it limited.[67]

The SCOE released its final report, *Learning: Tradition and Change* (LTC), in 1982. Of the 49 recommendations made by the Committee, 11 were directly related to the "education of adults." LTC provided a framework for adult and post-secondary education in the Northwest Territories premised on the belief that lifelong learning should not be limited to the classroom, and that the education program should be community-controlled. According to the Committee's report, these values responded to three perceived needs: "the need for overall planning and for the integration of economic and industrial development with requirements for manpower; the need for adult education that is delivered close to home; and the need for adult education that is subject to community control."[68]

The Committee saw the education system it was proposing as an innovative and creative response to a unique set of educational and societal challenges.[69] The report painted a relatively negative picture of the history of adult education, pointing to a lack of vision, resources, and organization, stating that it was "seizing [an] opportunity to reduce confrontation and conflict in opinion about the future of adult education."[70] The Committee recommended that "post-school education" have a statutory basis to ensure a clear, coherent mandate and access to dedicated, reliable resources. LTC laid the foundation for an Arctic College to be governed by an independent board with representatives from regional education boards, educators, labour, industry, and the public.[71] The proposed College system would comprise a network of regional campuses and Community Learning Centres, combining "attractive features of universities, technical institutes, community colleges, and manpower-planning agencies."[72]

The SCOE report retained some of the principles of the previous period, emphasizing that adult education should help communities determine local needs, and

that adult educators should remain accountable to communities, supported by Arctic College resources.[73] However, the report also contained statements like "the educational needs of a community are the sum of its individual needs,"[74] and it proposed that industry play a role as an educational partner and College board member. These differences signalled a departure from the community-centred adult education approach of the previous period, to an increased focus on individual skill development and meeting the requirements of the wage economy.[75]

The period following *Learning: Tradition and Change* was "administratively intensive."[76] In 1984, a vice president (Mark Cleveland) was appointed to develop the college system in the Eastern Arctic.[77] Cleveland's mandate included consolidating existing post-secondary education programming; developing an expanded array of programming for the Eastern Arctic's three regions; and creating an Eastern Arctic campus (now the Nunatta Campus of the Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit) for the new college system. As the work on the development of the College's Eastern Arctic presence proceeded (from 1984 to 1988), discussion of the consolidation of the College's activities and those of community adult educators also took shape.[78]

Just three years after the Committee's report was tabled, the Arctic College Act was introduced in the NWT legislative assembly. The following year, the Act passed and on 1 April 1987, Arctic College was officially established. In the Eastern Arctic, it took one more year for Adult Education to officially transfer from the territorial Department of Education to the College. The institutionalization of adult education through the College resulted in an almost immediate increase in the number of communities served by adult educators, increased enrolment, and access to a wider and more consistent range of courses and resources.[79] By the late 1980s,

> most Inuit communities in the Northwest Territories had buildings, capital equipment, supplies and staff people dedicated specifically to adult education programs. To justify the large expenditures associated with such programs, educational administrators required adult educators to rigorously document the content of their educational programs, the level of student participation in those programs, and the academic progress of the students.[80]

This new system of adult education, embodied by the College, had its own mission and mandate, and its own accountability structures and measures of success. For example, one of the recommendations from a 1988 Continuing Education Forum in Inuvik was that "consistent measuring standards be used for adult education courses, [and that] teachers should be held accountable for meeting those standards."[81] The need to apply performance standards was, perhaps, to be expected given the expenditures and resources that were going into adult and post-secondary education during this time. However, these new accountability measures reflected a shift in thinking about the goals of adult education, and the connection between adult education and local self-determination**.**

Over time, these administrative procedures and requirements, coupled with a depoliticized approach to adult learning and community development that privileged

the needs of the labour market, effectively erased "community adult education" as it was once understood. As one former adult educator explained,

> We didn't fit after 1985. There was no "community" left in "community adult education." They [the Department of Education] wanted us to teach English literacy not adult education. They said, "'you will be teachers of English." That isn't what we were there to do, and it isn't what we believed in.[82]

As further evidence of this shift in orientation, in her closing remarks at the 1988 Continuing Education Forum, Nellie Cournoyea (then an NWT Cabinet Minister and former member of the Special Committee on Education) went so far as to say that the biggest educational problem facing the NWT was literacy, suggesting that pre-employment training and work experience for welfare recipients was a particularly pressing need for economic development.[83] Locally driven educational activities supporting the development of local social economies, and contributing to creation of public spaces for political — as well as social and economic — self-determination, were replaced in the 1980s by a narrower vision of adult learning as "an instrument for the development of an appropriately skilled workforce."[84]

This approach to adult education continued through the separation of Arctic College in 1995 into Aurora College in the west, and Nunavut Arctic College in the east, prior to the division of the Northwest Territories. The shift away from community-centred adult education continued and deepened through the 1990s as funding was cut, and preparations for division and the creation of Nunavut were prioritized. Although the Colleges have each grown and changed considerably in the last two decades, their institutional and philosophical foundations have largely been sustained. The approach to adult education embodied by the Colleges and entrenched over time across the two territories reflects a broader neo-liberal approach to northern development, which places less emphasis on the development of citizens and communities, and more on the contributions of skilled workers to economic prosperity and growth.[85]

Conclusion

The increasing institutionalization of education in the NWT, culminating in the establishment of the Arctic College system (now two Colleges), came at the expense of locally driven and community-focused adult education. As noted in the introduction, communities are centres of social and civic engagement and participation. In the 1960s, adult education programming was part of a federally-led project of "guided democracy" in which learning objectives and priorities were determined according to the federal government's vision for how communities should develop. In the 1970s, there was a marked shift toward a project of "self-determining democracy" in which a new generation of adult educators, including a small but increasing number of Inuit educators, saw a critical relationship between adult education, Inuit self-determination, and the development of imaginative and innovative communities. Government,

and later communities, understood the importance of local political, social, and economic engagement and participation for the development of the North as a whole, although their methods and philosophies for how to achieve this were very different. In both periods, community mattered.

Starting in the late 1970s, the GNWT began to expand its administrative structures in an attempt to develop a "made-in-the-North" system of policies and programs that would reflect the particular needs and objectives of the people. In the process of institutionalizing such an education system, adult education was consolidated under the newly formed Arctic College. At the same time, the Indigenous rights movement drew attention to Inuit self-determination at the territorial and national levels. During this time, the focus on communities as sites of self-determination and democratic development waned. Adult education became more narrowly focused on improving the skills of individuals so that they could improve their employment prospects, as the NWT economy grew and opportunities for Indigenous participation in the developing GNWT (and later the Government of Nunavut) also grew. The expanding bureaucratic apparatus of Arctic College made it increasingly difficult for adult educators to be flexible and accountable to the community. The community-based adult education model of the College brought adult education to every community in the NWT. This model, however, is rooted in the principle of access to education *in* communities, which differs from the community adult education model of the 1970s, which was premised on adult education *by* communities. Put another way, in the years following the creation of the College, adult education began to take as given the neo-liberal model of economy and society, and the role of citizens therein. In practice, this meant an increasing focus on skills training and the labour market as the driver for educational programming, and an increasing focus on individuals as consumers of education, rather than as citizens and members of communities.

Inuit communities have undergone profound social change over the last six decades. In the Eastern Arctic, the complex and nuanced effects of state-led intervention into the lives and livelihoods of Inuit through Canadian welfare state policies and programs — including adult education — have been tempered by the settlement of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* and the creation of an Inuit territory, but their legacies are still present in community life. The need for adult education *by* communities continues today, as they are again faced with potential large-scale social change resulting from non-renewable resource development in the North, among other challenges. The territorial and federal governments recognize that adult and post-secondary education have a particularly important role to play in preparing northern citizens to benefit from resource development, and as such have made provisions primarily for skills-development programs. However, as resource development ramps up, it is vital that communities are empowered to respond to and sustain its impacts. Part of this includes fostering and supporting innovative community responses to change. Despite its origins as an instrument of colonial intervention, adult education has served as a means through which to promote and support local self-determination and imaginative community responses to social and economic

development and change. Under the right conditions, it could do so again.

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Notes

1 Michael Robert Welton, *Unearthing Canada's Hidden Past A Short History of Adult Education* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 2002), 184.

2 Frontier College, the National Farm Radio Forum, and its urban counterpart, the Citizens' Forum, are three such examples. For more information see Larry Krotz, Erica Martin, and Philip Fernandez, *Frontier College Letters: One Hundred Years of Teaching, Learning and Nation Building* (Toronto: Frontier College Press, 1999); R.W. Sandwell, "Read, Listen, Discuss, Act: Adult Education, Rural Citizenship and the Canadian National Farm Radio Forum 1941–1965," *Historical Studies in Education* 24, 1 (2012): 170-94. For a concise chronology of the history of adult education in Canada, also see James A. Draper and Jane Carere, "Selected Chronology of Adult Education in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Studies in Adult Education* 12, 2 (1998): 33-44. Also see Gordon Selman, *Adult Education in Canada: Historical Essays* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 1995).

3 See Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1930–63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), and Qikiqtani Truth Commission Final Report, available at: http://www.qtcommission.com.

4 Graham White, "Local Government in the Canadian Territorial North," in *Federalism, Power, and the North: Governmental Reforms in Russia and Canada*, ed. John F. Young (Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies: University of Toronto, 2007), 11.

5 Prior to 1967, the Northwest Territories was first governed by an appointed and then later partially elected Territorial Council in Ottawa. In 1967, the seat of government moved to Yellowknife. Over the next decade, the GNWT evolved toward a representative, responsible government with province-like powers and structures. At the same time as the fledgling GNWT was finding its feet, the Indigenous rights movement took shape and Indigenous leaders in both the eastern and western Arctic began calling for land claims and self-government agreements.

6 In particular I reviewed the federal records of the Departments of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and Citizenship and Manpower, and the Frontier College records available through Library and Archives Canada. I also reviewed the GNWT Department of Education records at the territorial archives in Yellowknife; documents and materials related to adult education at the territorial legislative libraries in Yellowknife and Iqaluit; and the Igloolik Oral History Project and Qikiqtani Truth Commission files for first hand accounts of interactions between adult educators and communities in the Qikiqtani/Baffin region.

7 In addition to these participants, I have also conducted over 40 interviews with community members in Igloolik, and with Inuit and non-Inuit advisors, as part of my doctoral research. The knowledge shared with me in these interviews has informed

my understanding of the context in which adult education was operating during this period.

8 Scott McLean, "Objectifying and Naturalizing Individuality: A Study of Adult Education in the Canadian Arctic," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 22, 1 (1997): 1-29.

9 At the core of my doctoral research project is a strand of oral testimony by community members in Igloolik who lived through the changes brought by the introduction of formal schooling, including adult education.

10 S. Walters, "Adult Education and Nation Building," in *Adult Learning and Education,* ed. Kjell Rubenson (London: Academic Press, 2011), 271.

11 Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1973).

12 J.L. Elias and S. Merriam, *Philosophical Foundations of Adult Education*, 2nd ed. (Malabar, FL: Krieger, 1995); Marion Terry, "Philosophies of Adult Education Movements in 20th Century Canada: Implications for Current Literacy Educators," *Canadian Journal in Studies of Adult Education* 15, 2 (Nov. 2001): 61-78; Stephen Brookfield, "Community Adult Education: A Comparative Analysis of Theory and Practice," *Comparative Education Review* 29, 2 (1985): 232-39.

13 Terry, "Philosophies of Adult Education Movements," 62.

14 J. Mark Stiles, "The Baker Lake Affair: A Case Study of a Cancelled Training Workshop," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 2, 1 (1982): 29.

15 R.D. Sparham, quoted in Stiles, "The Baker Lake Affair," 30.

16 Daniel Schugurensky, "Adult Education and Social Transformation: On Gramsci, Freire, and the Challenge of Comparing Comparisons," *Comparative Education Review* 44, 4 (2000): 235.

17 Pierre Walter, "Philosophies of Adult Environmental Education," *Adult Education Quarterly* 60, 3 (2009): 7.

18 Stiles, "The Baker Lake Affair," 29.

19 Ibid.

20 One exception to this may be the cultural programming, such as Inuit Studies and the language and traditional skills programs, offered through Piqqusilirivvik. For more information visit: http://www.arcticcollege.ca/piqqusilirivvik.

21 Heather E. McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Heather E. McGregor, "Listening, for More (Hi)Stories from the Arctic's Dispersed and Diverse Educational Past," in this issue. Also see The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *They Came for the Children* (Winnipeg: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012), available at: http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=9 (accessed 25 Jan 2015); and the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, *Thematic Histories,* available at: http://www.qtcommission.com/actions/GetPage.php?pageId=91 (accessed 25 Jan 2015).

22 The Canadian Superintendent, *Education North of 60*, a report prepared by members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), esp. chaps. 3 and 5; McLean, "Objectifying and naturalizing individuality"; Terry Forth, Personal Interview, 12 March 2014.

23 McLean, "Objectifying and Naturalizing Individuality," 9.

24 Library and Archives Canada. RG 85, Vol. 1130, File 254-1, Vol. 1-A, Social Service Qualifications of Welfare Teachers. Memorandum to Mr. Wright from S.J. Bailey, June 14, 1949.

25 Between 1953 and 1964, more than 1,300 Inuit completed vocational training at various locations in southern Canada. In 1964, the Churchill Vocational Centre (CVC), which became an important secondary and vocational educational institute for Inuit, opened; and in 1968, the Adult Vocational Training Centre, which would later become the Arctic College, opened in Fort Smith, NWT. These vocational

centres provided training in a wide variety of areas from heavy equipment operation to office administration and nurses' assistants. In order to pursue high school and vocational education at this time, the vast majority of students had to leave their home communities. For more on this, see Northern Regional Committee, *Education for What? Conference Report 1* (Toronto: Northern Regional Committee, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1965); Echo Lidster, ed. *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education in the NWT: 1967–1974* (Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories Department of Education, 1975); R.A. Young and Peter McDermott, "Employment Training Programs and Acculturation of Native Peoples in Canada's Northwest Territories," *Arctic* 41, 3 (1988): 195-202.

26 Forth, 2014.

27 Ibid.

28 The "policy of dispersal" is the term used by David Damas to explain the government's approach to its responsibilities with respect to Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. In the pre-war years, the federal government maintained that it was preferable to have Inuit remain on the land, where they could participate in subsistence harvesting as they had for thousands of years, rather than to encourage permanent settlement. See David Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 27-51.

29 Welton, *Unearthing Canada's Hidden Past*, 184; R.W. Sandwell, "Read, Listen, Discuss, Act."

30 See J.G. Glassco, *Royal Commission on Government Organization* (Ottawa, 1962), 172; John J. Honigman, "People under Tutelage," in *Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic*, ed. Victor F. Valentine and Frank G. Vallee (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 173-185; John J. Honigman and Irma Honigman, *Eskimo Townsmen* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1965), 173-76.

31 A.W.R. Carrothers, *Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1966).

32 Emilie S. Cameron, "The Ordering of Things: Narrative Geographies of Bloody Falls and the Central Canadian Arctic" (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2009), 200.

33 Carrothers, *Commission,* 189-90.

34 Cameron, "The Ordering of Things," 200. The notion of the "readiness" of Indigenous peoples for self-government is a long-standing one in Canadian discourse. See, for example, Peter Kulcyski, *Like the Sound of a Drum: Aboriginal Cultural Politics in Denendeh and Nunavut* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005); and Tony Penikett, "A 'literacy test' for Indigenous government?" *Northern Public Affairs* 1, 1 (Spring 2012): 77-78.

35 Both Tagak Curley and Peter Irniq are prominent Inuit politicians and cultural leaders. Since his early work with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in the late 1960s, Tagak Curley has had a long career as a politician, advocating for Inuit self-determination at the local, territorial and national levels. He was the founding President of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), the national Inuit association, and played a prominent role in the negotiations that led to the settlement of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1993 and the creation of Nunavut. Peter Irniq has also been active in politics, first serving as a Member of the Legislative Assembly in the NWT and then in Nunavut. He served on the Nunavut Implementation Commission and later became the second Commissioner of Nunavut in 2000.

36 Forth, 2014.

37 In 1969, the Catholic Church-run federal day school at Chesterfield Inlet officially closed, leaving both the school and the hostel, Turquetil Hall, vacant. The federal government acquired the buildings and it was decided that an adult education centre for the Keewatin region would be established there since it already had a residence; Forth, 2014.

38 Frontier College was founded in 1899 by Alfred Fitzpatrick. In 1922, Frontier College was chartered by an act of Parliament to promote adult education in the Northern regions of Canada. For more information about the history of Frontier College visit: http://www.frontiercollege.ca/english/learn/history.html.
39 Labourer-teachers did work in the NWT as volunteers at mining camps in Yellowknife and Pine Point.
40 Lidster, *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education*, 146.
41 Ibid.
42 NWT Archives, N-1990-021, 37-2, Brief to Minister Otto E. Lang, 1971.
43 Ibid.
44 Hugh Lloyd, Personal Interview, November 6, 2013; Mark Cleveland, Personal Interview, December 6, 2013; Kathy Olovson, Personal Interview, December 6, 2013; Mark Stiles, Personal Interview, November 6, 2013. Echo Lidster explains that Frontier College workers were expected to possess "people skills; a sincere commitment to educational and social improvement in people, volunteerism, flexibility in dealing with new situations, an appetite for teaching, natural curiosity about new subjects, widely read and informed, and culturally sensitive." Lidster, *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education*, 147.
45 Lidster, *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education*, 5.
46 Lloyd, 2013; Stiles, 2013; Cleveland, 2013; Olovson, 2013; Helen Balanoff, Personal Interview, December 5, 2013; Mary Ellen Thomas, Personal Interview, February 17, 2014.
47 Lidster, *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education*, Preface.
48 NWT Archives, G-1995-004, 5-9, Continuing and Special Education Conference, 19-21 Feb. 1974.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Olovson, 2013.
52 Lidster, *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education*, 4.
53 Ibid., 34; Lloyd, 2013.
54 Don MacNeill, "Some Thoughts on Adult Learning and Community Adult Education in the Baffin," in Lidster, *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education*, 144-45.
55 Lidster, *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education*.
56 Mike and Ellie Denker, quoted in Lidster, *Some Aspects of Community Adult Education*, 27.
57 For information on the history of the relationship between co-operatives, community development, and Inuit self-determination, see Louis Tapardjuk, *Fighting for Our Rights: The Life Story of Louis Tapardjuk*, ed. Louis McComber (Iqaluit: Nunavut Research Institute, 2013), and William Lyall, *Helping Ourselves by Helping Each Other: The Life Story of William Lyall*, ed. Louis McComber (Iqaluit: Nunavut Research Institute, 2013). For more information on local education councils, see McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools*, 103-104.
58 Government of the Northwest Territories, *Survey of Education 1972* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1972).
59 See for example John Amagoalik, *Changing the Face of Canada*, ed. Louis McComber (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2007).
60 Helen Balanoff, Personal Interview, 5 Dec. 2013. For an account of the growing struggle between the GNWT and Indigenous leadership vis-à-vis training for self-governance, see Stiles, "The Baker Lake Affair." Also see NWT Archives, G-1995-004, 5-9, Resolutions Drafted at the Baffin Region, Adult Education Conference, 5–10 May 1978.

61 For a detailed account of Inuit political activity in the years leading up to the establishment of the national Inuit association, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, see Abraham Okpik, *We Call it Survival: Life Stories of Northern Leaders*, ed. Louis McComber (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2005). For detailed accounts of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement negotiation process, see John Amagoalik, *Changing the Face of Canada*, ed. Louis McComber (Iqaluit: Nunavut Artic College, 2007); Paul Quassa, *Now They Know We Were Here*, ed. Louis McComber (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2008); James Arvaluk, *That's My Vision*, ed. Noel McDermott (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2008); Peter Ittinuar, *Teach an Eskimo to Read*, ed. Thierry Rodon (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2008); and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Oral History Project,* available at: http://oralhistory.tunngavik.com/interview/uriash-puqiqnak/ (accessed 25 Jan. 2015).
62 Hugh Lloyd, "Arriving in the Northwest Territories," *Frontier College Alumni Stories* (2012), http://www.frontiercollege.ca/english/success/alumni.html (accessed 13 Nov. 2014).
63 Cleveland, 2013; Olovson, 2013; Balanoff, 2014; Lloyd, 2013.
64 Lloyd, 2013.
65 Lloyd, 2013; Cleveland, 2013.
66 Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories, Minutes — Public Hearings* (Yellowknife: NWT Legislative Assembly, 1981).
67 Ibid., 377.
68 Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, Special Committee on Education (SCOE), *Learning: Tradition and Change* (LTC) (Yellowknife: Legislative Assembly of the NWT, 1982), 136.
69 Ibid., 12.
70 Ibid., 135.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid., 12.
73 Ibid., 144.
74 Ibid., 14.
75 McLean, "Objectifying and Naturalizing Individuality."
76 SCOE, LTC, 10.
77 The Arctic College was preceded by the Arctic Vocational Training Centre (AVTC) established in 1968, and Thebacha College, based in Fort Smith, NWT.
78 Mark Cleveland, Personal Correspondence, January 23, 2015.
79 NWT Forum on Continuing Education, *Proceedings* of the N.W.T. Forum on Continuing Education, Inuvik (Yellowknife: NWT Forum on Continuing Education, 1988).
80 McLean, "Objectifying and naturalizing individuality," 10.
81 Continuing Education Forum, *Proceedings*.
82 Thomas, 2014.
83 Nellie Cournoyea currently serves as the Chair and CEO of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation in the Northwest Territories. She was the first female Aboriginal Premier of the Northwest Territories and has held many ministerial positions in the Government of the Northwest Territories. She was instrumental in the negotiations for the Inuvialuit Land Claims Agreement and the creation of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. For more information on the history of the ISR and Cournoyea's work in education, see Nellie Cournoyea, "Adaptation & Resilience: The Inuvialuit Story," *Northern Public Affairs* Special Issue (Apr. 2014): 18-22; Continuing Education Forum, *Proceedings*, 19.
84 Kjell Rubenson and Judith Walker, "The Political Economy of Adult Learning in Canada," in *Contexts of Adult Education Canadian Perspectives*, ed. Tara Fenwick, Tom Nesbit, and Bruce Spencer (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 2006), 181.

85 This section of the article raises a question about what the colleges' duties to consult are, both formally and informally, with communities, government departments, Inuit organizations, and other stakeholders. In attempting to investigate the current practice, I have had difficulty confirming both the requirements and procedures used in recent years (i.e. since 1995). There is a report by an independent consultant hired by the NAC Board of Governors which suggests that the college was not, at that time, effectively communicating with stakeholders, communities, or students; however, it is not clear whether the report's recommendation that the college implement a formal means of seeking community input was adopted. To my knowledge at the time of writing, no subsequent external reviews have been conducted. This is an area for further inquiry, which I plan to pursue. For the executive summary version of the 2004 report, see *Aaqqigiarniq, Time to Move Forward: An External Review of Nunavut Arctic College,* report prepared for the Minister of Education, Government of Nunavut (Iqaluit: Government of Nunavut, 2004).